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614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
●789 that they still have plenty of them. They are
171 called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

[727] The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
●789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs /unbelievers, infidels/." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak, [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

178 The guru said that there has been almost no technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

We
789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no outward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

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Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Madurese who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

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There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

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The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

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In the prewar period if one did not obey the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

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R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through the mountains. On the way, especially in the kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. [789] The report I have says that wadjo means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought.

●[789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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614 796 241 343 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and members present. All of this is done in order to make the rice in the fields perfect. The other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 ● 789 342 614 823 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones which are in front of the houses of all suku and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Leloba and have not been replaced, but most of them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextricably tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

621 The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
832 meente are:

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiŭ
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how [789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

War.

173 621 565 ●789 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the magic stuff which in the last analysis scared the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 614 The only exchange here is that connected with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 [178] As a result of the last World War the horizons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[753] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kakang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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789 who was not so, the people would not follow him,
769 or rather they would do so only out of fear of
622 being sent to jail. Such respect would be given only halfheartedly.

The power of the chiefs, up to the radja, rests on their "blood" or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punishment the disobedient by unseen power. Legitimacy and magic power from the ancestors go together. I asked whether, if a bad man succeeded to a post legitimately, they would revolt? They said absolutely not, as he would be legitimate. However, they would rest assured that the ancestors would see to it that the bad fellow died quickly. The idea is to have faith in the ancestors. Following a succession of bad crops, or crop failure, illness, etc., they think that something is wrong. They may think that the chief concerned does not have the right power. They may seek ways out and may even ask the radja about it. But they would never revolt.

There are a few cases where two men hold the same post (adat) in Wailolong. These cases (Blawa, the one talked of) are of the kelake, and what happened was that the legitimate man could not seem to get the proper "wave length" to the powers, and the crops, etc., were bad. So, though they could not drive him out, they got another man to work with him. I think that what happens is that the new man, who gets results, does the main ritual work while the legitimate man, who has the title, passes around the betel. Thus form is kept. It is said, however, that there are a few "rebels". I must check this.

789 This led to a talk about what magical power is. They call it no'o ike(ng). It is mana or tondi. It means to have power literally. Everyone has some of the soul stuff or Lebenskraft,

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789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 797 182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamié?

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346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

•789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give
462 medicines. The women may also be midwives. They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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000 up together again.

614 171 789 Some of the suku are large, some are small, and some have died out. They have the same idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding [123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 178 708 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has not changed at all. However, when there was much warfare formerly, the women were important in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 462 241 One firm rule which is changing today, however, is that in the old days the women never did work in the field, except for helping in planting and in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one
534 has the better it is for him. A man feels big
556 if his family is large. It is fine to have
857 twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
● 789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
• 789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky. [554] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per
165 cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
758 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 ●789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

789 In regard to magic power, he says that
624 there is none here. Not even the radja possesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

624 All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
646 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
●789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 614 346 I finally found out which kampongs do the main ritual functions when they have a general Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 614 793 565 ●789 756 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself is so impressed by. There are priests in the sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition, there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 797 658 The schools are government schools, but the mission runs them and evidently provides, but does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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797 782 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals can be used.

771 Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic, and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 114 I asked about the religion here as given in my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that [775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The [776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 831 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

● [789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.

776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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[493] [492] 481 178 The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he